



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

higher civilization we boast of that the mental, psychic and spiritual suffering of mankind is of even more moment than the physical? Are not, most properly, the affections given first consideration? What hearts will be wrung, yes, have already been, in anticipation even, of mothers and sisters who have experienced some of war's horrors!

A reference to the experience and practice of the Northern army in connection with the guerrilla warfare during the civil war will suggest very close approximation to conditions now existing in Cuba. Ask testimony of those who lived along the path of desolation left on Sherman's march to the sea, which it may be well to remember.

Again, if the United States shall become responsible for driving the present Spanish government out of Cuba on the ground that it has failed to make peace throughout the length and breadth of the island, will we not become morally responsible to the world for the peace and prosperity of Cuba? And may this not involve us in a bitter, straggling war corresponding possibly with our Indian wars, which have been long continued, with the added horrors of the diseases of torrid climates?

Is there not much reason to fear that many of the insurgents are at heart opposed to all law and order and against the protection of property? Shall we not be obliged before the world to protect the property of citizens of Cuba who may doubt, as I am told many do, the capacity and intentions of the insurgent forces? Is this not an appalling possibility? We should not commit ourselves to the bringing forth of a crippled child such as the present Cuban Republic would surely be if recognized in its present feeble stage.

The really humane method for accomplishing Cuban self-government is by a properly authorized plebiscite and a thoroughly debated constitution and form of government, to be deliberately established thereafter. It may in the present condition of affairs be very properly our high privilege to use our ablest diplomatic power and all of our moral force to negotiate such a result, free from bias by reason of the international supervision which ought to be in due time obtained for it. Let Congress delegate to the President the full responsibility and ample time to complete such negotiations, and at once evidence our faith in the power of peaceful methods and moral force by desisting from our preparations for war. — *From the New York Times of April 6.*

The Presidential Policy and the Congressional Policy.

The *Boston Herald* of April 13 contained a most admirable editorial suggested by the President's message on Cuba and the action of Congress in reference thereto. No more just and vigorous arraignment has been made of the policy of Congress which has caused the President's policy to fail, and led the nation straight on to an unnecessary war. We quote as follows:

"If these latter (jingo congressmen and jingo newspapers) could have their way, war would be declared within twenty-four hours, with the result that we should plunge into a fight for the attainment of ends which we can gain equally well without sacrificing a single life. It is a well-known principle in physics that though a sharp strain applied to a bar of iron may break it in two, by the

gradual application of power the same bar can be twisted into the shape of a corkscrew without being fractured. This example illustrates the difference between congressional and presidential policy. The former proposes to plunge recklessly forward, and involve the nation in a war, the consequences of which no one can predict, while the latter wishes to make the influence and power of the United States felt by a steady, irresistible pressure, which, while never snapping the bar of peace, will turn and mould the problem into that form best calculated to serve the highest interests of the American people.

"One after another, the various forms of resistance which Spain has put up have been changed or crushed out of shape. At the alleged wish of the great powers of Europe and the Pope, an unconditional armistice has been declared in Cuba; but this action is the outcome of the President's policy, for if it had not been for American urgency, the Pope and the European governments would never have thought of offering their mediation. In the same way, the offer of complete autonomy to Cuba is a concession made to meet American wishes, and added to this is the official statement that Spain is willing to leave her responsibility for the destruction of the Maine to any disinterested tribunal, and pledges herself in advance to make whatever amends or restitution such a tribunal shall consider to be her duty. All this has been gained without war, and, if necessary, more can be gained by the pursuance of the same policy.

"On the other side, what are we asked to do? To declare war, proclaim the independence of Cuba, and send our war vessels to bombard Havana and destroy the Spanish fleet, each of these having at its masthead a flag bearing the motto, 'Remember the Maine.' In view of the present situation, such a policy can only be defined as pure barbarism, a drop not from the nineteenth century to the twelfth, but from the ways of a civilized community to the manners of the people who make up the tribes inhabiting Central Asia and Central Africa, where war is resorted to for the pure love of fighting. Spain has made concession after concession to us, in a way which must have been intensely humiliating to her government and her people, and, instead of making the least acknowledgment, we propose to stamp upon and kick her for the mere brutal desire of obtaining a more palpable revenge. We are counselled to do this because she is so weak that she cannot hurt us, even if she tries to strike back. For downright, abject baseness, it would be difficult to find a parallel to this proposal in the world's record during the present century. It would certainly bring us down to the level of Spain in the worst atrocities that have ever stained her career on the island of Cuba.

"But are not the Cubans to obtain their independence? Certainly, they should have it if they want it. But no congressional orator, no jingoist newspaper, and not even a member of the Cuban junta, has ever shown by anything approaching conclusive proof that a majority of the Cuban people desire independence. Because, out of its 1,500,000 inhabitants, some 30,000 men have maintained for nearly three years a destructive, but unconquered, insurrection, does not prove that a majority of the people of the island are in sympathy with them or support their political wishes. It is well known that almost all of those who represent the business interests of Cuba are opposed to independence, not because they have any fondness for

Spanish government, but because, with the fate of Hayti and San Domingo before their eyes, they have a profound distrust of the civic ability and disinterested public spirit of the leaders of the guerilla force which has succeeded since 1895 in holding the Spanish army at bay. Like the Afghans, the Cuban guerillas have proved themselves to be splendid fighters; but like the Afghans, they may be entirely wanting in the qualities needed to carry on a democratic form of government. If Cuba is to be independent, she should be so by the free wish of a majority of her people, and in the absence of that popular mandate, we cannot afford to play the part of the tyrant, and, possibly, force the great majority of her people into a form of government to which they are thoroughly opposed.

"In the case of the Maine, which is looked upon both at Washington and elsewhere as our strongest issue, what have we to fight about? Our adversary comes to us, and says: 'I will make any reparation for my responsibility in this matter that any impartial tribunal shall consider adequate.' What more can Spain do than this? One feels as if one were addressing a tribe of thin Indians in assuming that such a proposition would not be accepted. What does its repudiation and a declaration of war on the basis of 'remember the Maine' imply? Neither more nor less than that the boasted humanity and civilization of the American people is simply a thin veneer; that, in spite of education and religious training, we still cherish the savage instincts of our prehistoric forefathers; that with us a bloody feud is to be cherished and developed, no matter how contrite and submissive our adversary may be, until each life that we have lost has been paid for and avenged by the destruction of ten, twenty or one hundred of the lives of innocent men, who to our frenzied imagination represent the enemy. This is maintaining national honor! This is exhibiting to the world an heroic determination, and this is what it is proposed to substitute for the policy which President McKinley has laid down! If this murderous method is adopted, it will imply a moral debauch on the part of the American people which will leave its stain upon their national record through the lives of all those who are now numbered as American citizens."

A Peaceful Settlement with Spain.

BY JOSIAH W. LEEDS.

Deploring the present tendency of her sex "to rush in and compete with men in all professions and avenues of business," the poetess, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, is reported as saying that, as a corrective of this condition, she does "not know of anything that would be as wholesome as war. A war would put the masculine woman in the background, and would once more imbue the men of the nation with that virility that they seem so much in danger of losing. A nation can go to seed by becoming too gentle. A war therefore would bring about a needed reorganization of society."

Unfortunately, we tried this business — this wrong way of disposing of a difficulty — over thirty years ago, with quite the contrary of a beneficent effect on society. A variety of things did go to seed, and have we not these years been reaping a sorry harvest of intemperance, covetousness, impurity, venality in many shapes, marital divorce, love of sport, Sabbath breaking and many other

evils that war against the soul? Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, the well-known writer, taking a very different view of the calamity of a war, has just made the following public protest:

"What a spectacle! A Christian Nation threatening to declare war, unnecessary, unjustifiable, unrighteous war, on Holy Week, and plotting butchery on Easter Day. The veriest Furioso in Congress must hang his head before this shameful and untimely sight. We have a Christian statesman at the head of our Government. Extend to him at least the simple courtesy yielded in the commonest commercial transactions. Grant the President thirty days to meet the call of the crisis. He will settle this trouble without slaughter. Give him a chance. Let him have time to save us from a national blunder and disgrace which history would never forget to record against us."

Hannah J. Bailey, National Superintendent of the Department of Peace and Arbitration of the W. C. T. U., has earnestly appealed for a peaceful settlement of our controversy with Spain. Ella P. Martin, of West Grove, President of the W. C. T. U. of Chester county, in a private letter says:

"It is well known that our organization stands for peace, and nothing short of a memorial from the fountain head (the National officers) would avail much at this crisis I think, while it would be in accord for each and all to lift their hearts in prayer at home that our leaders may have the wisdom of many."

Bishop Potter, of New York, in a sermon referring to the crisis, the President's position of righteous restraint, and what ought to be ours, said:

"To-day he stands for that for which, as an ambassador of the Prince of Peace, it is my duty to plead — a peaceful settlement of the difficulties which are to-day confronting us. Over against him there are others who are clamoring for war: I presume that every criminal, every inmate of a jail or prison, every lounge in a bar-room, every one of that evil brood that haunts dark places and plans dark deeds, is with such. Are you? Where ought a God-fearing people to stand to-day? What are you saying to your representatives in Congress, beset as they are by noisy agitators and by men of sordid motives, or by partisans eager to magnify a quarrel with another nation into a ground for a foolish and unnecessary war, and to make partisan capital out of their clamor for blood? Some of these representatives are telling us of what they have heard from their constituents. What have they heard from you? Do you honestly believe that at this hour there is any wrong that may not be righted, any oppressed people that may not be speedily fed and succored, without our flying at the throats of those with whom to-day we have a controversy, like so many bullies in a prize-ring?"

Dr. Greer, also of New York, in concluding a fervent discourse on the same theme as the above, and our duty to sustain the President in his stand for peace, said:

"Such a man, I say, is needed now. Such a man, I hope, I think, we have; who, with a lively sense of the responsibility, grave and awful, that is placed on him, is doing what he can — God in heaven help him. May all the people help him to minister unto peace and to stay the plague and stop the scourge of war!"

Dr. Joseph Silverman, in the Temple Emmanuel, New